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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, TW, TH, RP, CH

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SHEN

REF: TAIPEI 2255

- 1. I CALLED ON FONMIN SHEN CHANG-HUAN AT HIS REQUEST, MAY 3. REFERRING TO MY RECENT CONVERSATION WITH PREMIER CHIANG AT TZU HU (REFTEL), SHEN SAID PREMIER HAD ASKED THAT ESSENCE OF VIEWS PREMIER HAD EXPRESSED ON THAT OCCASION AS WELL AS IN TALK WITH VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER ON APRIL 16, BE PRESENTED IN BRIEF PAPER AND REQUESTED THAT IT BE TRANSMITTED BY ME TO PRESIDENT FORD WHEN I RETURNED TO WASHINGTON FOR CONSULTATIONS.
- 2. PAPER WHICH SHEN READ AND HANDED ME COPY IS QUOTED BELOW: BEGIN QUOTE THE TRAUMATIC EVENTS THAT HAVE OCCURRED IN INDO-CHINA RECENTLY CANNOT BUT HAVE TREMENDOUS IMPACT ON VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD, PARTICULARLY IN THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGION. THE LEADERS OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA AGREE WITH PRESIDENT FORD THAT TO INDULGE IN RECRIMINATION AND IN APPORTIONING BLAMES IS NOT PRODUCTIVE. ON THE OTHER HAND, MANY LESSONS MUST BE DRAWN FROM THIS TRAGEDY TO PREVENT HISTORY FROM REPEATING ITSELF.

MILITARILY, THE INDO-CHINA CHAPTER MAY HAVE NOW COME TO A CLOSE. HOWEVER, A "NEW AGENDA" AS APTLY CALLED BY PRESIDENT FORD SHOULD BE METICULOUSLY DISCUSSED, PLANNED SECRET

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AND PREPARED TO DEAL WITH OTHER PROBABLE AND POSSIBLE INTERNATIONAL CRIES THAT ARE SURELY FORTHCOMING.

IT IS UNDERSTANDABLE THAT MANY COUNTRIES IN THIS

AREA, ESPECIALLY THAILAND AND THE PHILIPPINES, HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY NERVOUS, WHICH MIGHT EVEN LEAD TO PANIC. IN THE VIEW OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA, THAILAND AND THE PHILIPPINES SHOULD BE GIVEN TOP PRIORITY OF THE U.S. "NEW AGENDA".

WHILE ATTENDING TO SOUTHEAST ASIA, EQUAL IMPORTANCE OF NORTHEAST ASIA CANNOT BE GAINSAID. THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA IS COGNIZANT THAT THE U.S. ATTACHES GREAT IMPORTANCE TO JAPAN FOR ITS INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROWESS. BUT THE PROTECTION OF JAPAN HINGES ON THE SECURITY AND STABILITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA AND THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA WHICH ARE VITAL AND INDISPENSABLE FLANKS TO JAPAN. SHOULD EITHER OF THE FLANKS FALL INTO THE HANDS OF AN ADVERSARY OF THE U.S., IT WOULD RENDER JAPAN MILITARILY VULNERABLE AND CREATE UNFATHOMABLE CONFUSION AND DIVISION IN ITS DOMESTIC POLITICS. JAPAN'S INDUSTRIAL CAPABILITY WOULD THEN BECOME ASSETS TO AMERICA'S ENEMIES. CONFIDENTIALLY, A NUMBER OF JAPAN'S LEADING ELDERLY STATESMEN HAVE EXPRESSED THE FEARS OF SUCH A NIGHTMARE.

IT IS BELIEVED THAT A STRONG CHAIN STRETCHING FROM INOREA, JAPAN, THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA, THE PHILIPPINES, INDONESIA DOWN TO AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND WOULD FORM A RELIABLE AND CREDIBLE FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE FOR THE U.S. DIPLOMATICALLY AND MILITARILY.

AS PREMIER CHIANG CHING-KUO TOLD ICE PRESIDENT
NELSON ROCKEFELLER, THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA IS UNEQUIVOCALLY
DEDICATED TO THE FOLLOWING POLICY DECISIONS:

- 1. UNRELENTING STRUGGLE AGAINST COMMUNISM AND COMMUNIST REGIMES NO MATTER WHERE THEY ARE AND DETERMINED TO DEFEND THE SECURITY OF TAIWAN, PESCADORES, QUEMOY AND MATSU;
- 2. FIRM ALIGNMENT WITH THE FREE WORLD, PARTICULARLY SECRET

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TO U.S.;

- 3. FURTHER PROMOTION OF INTERNAL POLITICAL SOLIDARITY; AND
- 4. REDOUBLED EFFORTS FOR THE CONTINUING DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMIC WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE.
 BY SO DOING, THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA WILL BE ABLE TO PLAY A POSITIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN THE NEW ERA.

IT IS THE FERVENT HOPE OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA
THAT PRESIDENT FORD WILL EXERCISE HIS FARSIGHTED AND
STEADFAST STATESMANSHIP WHIC WILL HELP OVERCOME ANY

DIFFICULTIES IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA. IN THE LIGHT OF PREMIER CHIANG CHING-KUO'S BASIC POLICY DIRECTION, PRESIDENT FORD AND THE U.S. GOVERNMENT CAN ALWAYS COUNT UPON THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA AS A LOYAL ALLY AND PARTNER.

PRESIDENT FORD HAS REPEATEDLY OFFERED HIS ASSURANCES THAT WHAT TRANSPIRED IN INDO-CHINA SHOULD NOT IMPAIR THE CREDIBILITY OF THE U.S. IN ITS FULFILLMENT OF COMMITMENTS TO THE OTHER ALLIES AND FRIENDS IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC.

THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA IS GRATIFISQBQTH THE WARM SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED BY PRESIDENT FORD TOWARDS THIS COUNTRY IN HIS RECENT APPEARANCE AT THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER EDITORS' ASSOCIATION IN NEW YORK. THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WOULD REPEAT SUCH REASSURANCES WHENEVER THE SAME ARE PUBLICLY GIVEN TO OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE REGION.

FREQUENT AND FRANK CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WOULD BE MOST BENEFICIAL FOR BOTH COUNTRIES.

FOR THE TASK OF STABILIZING THAILAND, THE PHILIPPINES AND OTHER SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES THE STRENGTHENING OF

THE TIES BETWEEN THE U.S. AND NATIONS IN NORTHEAST ASIA IN GENERAL AND THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN PARTICULAR SECRET

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COULD ALSO SERVE AS A CREDIBLE TOKEN OF THE U.S. INTENTION AND DETERMINATION, SO THAT THE WAVERING AND NERVOUS COUNTRIES IN THIS AREA WOULD NOT BE DRAWN INTO THE ORBIT OF THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS. END QUOTE

3. I TOLD SHEN THAT EXPRESSION OF ROC VIEWS AS PRESENTED IN PAPER WOULD BE HELPFUL IN CURRENT WASHINGTON REASSESSMENT OF OUR POLICIES AND THAT I WOULD MAKE A PARTICULAR POINT OF BRINGING TO ATTENTION OF OUR POLICY MAKERS. I EXPECTED THIS REASSESSMENT WOULD RESULT IN POLICY FOUNDED ON BASIC, LONG-TERM INTERESTS, AND THAT, IN THIS CONNECTION, I FELT SURE THAT OUR PEOPLE WOULD CONTINUE TO HAVE VERY MUCH IN MIND THE MEANS OF WHICH A MODUS VIVENDI COULD BE WORKED OUT WITH MAINLAND CHINA IN ORDER TO BETTER ASSURE PEACE AND STABILITY IN EAST ASIA AND ALSO TO SEEK SOLUTIONS TO SOME WORLD PROBLEMS IN WHICH MAINLAND CHINA MUST PLAY A ROLE. I TOLD SHEN THAT WE WECD VERY WELL AWARE OF ROC VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT AND ITS ESSENTIAL INTEREST IN OUR DEVELOPING RELATIONS WITH THE PRC. SHEN INDICATED HIS UNDERSTANDING, BUT WONDERED IF THE HIGH PRICE WE WOULD HAVE TO PAY FOR FURTHERING DETENTE WITH THE COMMUNISTS WOULD BE WORTH THE CLEAR DISADVANTAGES. HE POINTED UP THE "NONTRUSTWORTHINESS" OF THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS, E.G., INDOCHINA, CONTINUING SUPPORT FOR INSURGENCIES, ETC., AS CONTRASTED WITH THE CLEAR, UNAMBIGUOUS

POLICIES OF THE ROC WHICH WERE STRONGLY SUPPORTIVE OF THE U.S.

- 4. OUR CONVERSATION CONTINUED OVER A RATHER BROAD RANGE OF SUBJECTS WHICH WILL BE REPORTED SEPTELS.
- 5. REGARDING PREMIER'S REQUEST THAT PAPER QUOTED PARA 2, ABOVE BE TRANSMITTED TO PRESIDENT FORD, I WILL WISH TO DISCUSS THIS DURING MY CONSULTATION WASHINGTON.
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